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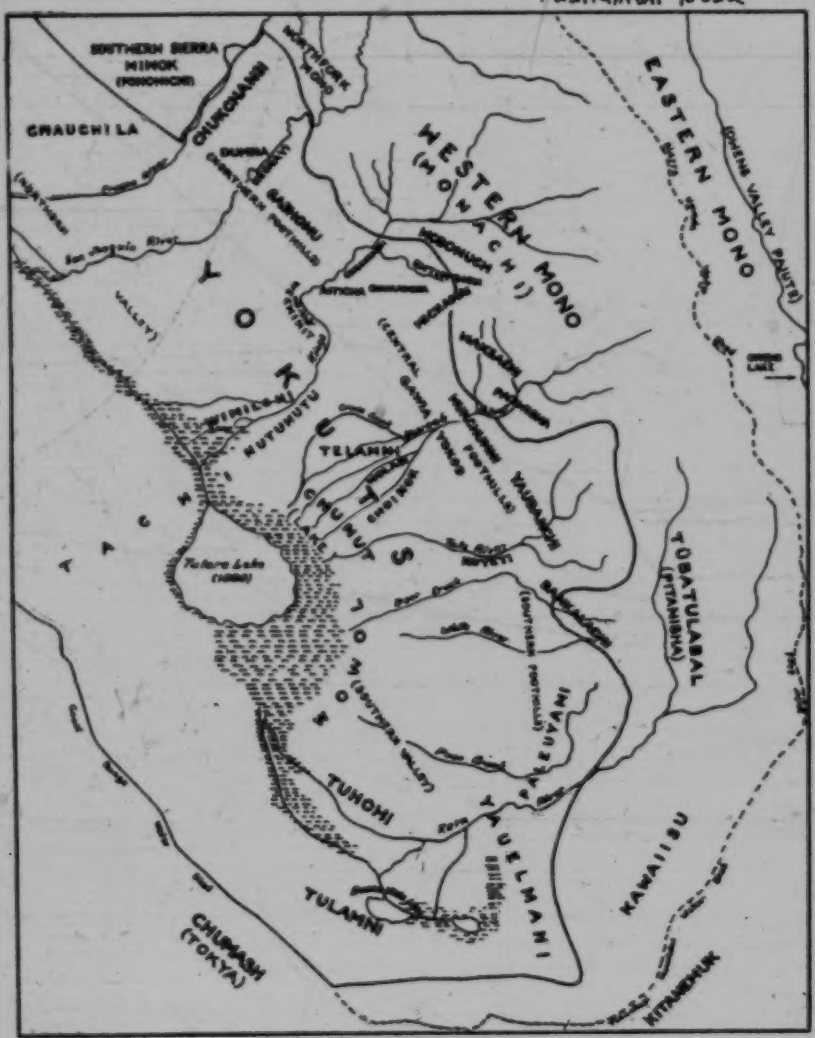
1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[FACING P. 1] Western Mono NS25
Tübatulabal NS22



Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

177 439 known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved, [174] I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

177 [342] Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses and have made one innovation, at least, in adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Wakaachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

178 171 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River Reservation; a few families have been permitted to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

● 133 Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada; but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4] Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5] Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 395.

[6] E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 connaissance.[7] He entered from the west via San Miguel Pass, already trodden by Spanish predecessors, turned south, then east, to go around the south end of Tulare Lake, then northeast, stopping to make a short digression to the south-southwest, thence back and continuing northward beyond Kings River. After crossing the San Joaquin River at the ferry north of Tulare Lake, he eventually turned south, skirting the west shore of the lake, and left the valley by the pass to San Miguel where he had entered.

On May 1, 1850, after leaving Dick's (San Lorenzo) Creek in the San Miguel Pass, Derby was about to enter territory south of the Tachi villages on the west side of Tulare Lake.

> I started accordingly about 10 A.M., and, crossing two ranges of low hills over a broad smooth trail, arrived at the shore of the great Taché (Tulare) lake about 1 P.M. We were unable to get close to the water, in consequence of the tulé which environed it, extending into the lake from two hundred yards to one mile, as far as the eye could reach. With a glass I could distinguish the timber at the north and the tulé at the south ends of the lake, the length of which I estimated at about twenty miles, but we could not distinctly make out the opposite or eastern shore. The peaks of the Sierra Nevada, at this place twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea and covered with perpetual snow, appeared in close proximity, and, rising far above the horizon, seem to us to come down precipitously to the very edge of the water. The distance from our encampment to the lake we estimated at eighteen miles, or nearly a day's march, and as the country passed over was a perfect desert, and I found here no forage for the animals but wire grass, the water standing in the tulé brackish, and no wood at all, I concluded to return immediately to camp . . . . An examination was made on the 2nd . . . which terminated favorable, a good path being found through the southern extremity of the valley, and a trail leading apparently around the south end of the lake.[8]

On May 3, Derby's party left the Dick (San Lorenzo) Creek camp and went 24.5 miles "from the termination of the pass," reaching the lake and camping upon the sand.

> We found here a ridge of sand about one hundred yards in width, and twelve feet above the level of the lake which divides the water of the northern or Taché from the bed (now nearly dry) of the southern or Ton Taché lake. This last is little more than a very extensive swamp, covering the plain for fifteen miles in a southerly direction, and is about ten in width. It is filled with sloughs and is of course impassable except with the assistance of

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[7] Farquhar, The Topographic Reports of Lieutenant George H. Derby, 251 ff.

[8] Ibid., 252.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

●133 boats or rafts. The gradual receding of the water is distinctly marked by the ridges of decayed tulé, and I was informed, and see no reason to disbelieve, that ten years ago it was nearly as extensive a sheet of water as the northern lake, having been gradually drained by the connecting sloughs, and its bed filled by the encroachment of the tulé.

We crossed the slough on the 4th, being assisted with rafts of tulé by the rancherîa of Sin Tache Indians [Chunut or Wowol?] which we found established at this point. Proceeding on over the desert which we found very painful traveling for the animals, encamped at the southeast point of the lake, having made 12.64 miles?

The following day, May 5, Derby gained the east side of the valley by traveling 15.38 miles, "over a continuation of the barren sandy desert which had been our route for the last three days," where he reached a few cottonwood trees on Moore's Creek (now called Deer Creek).

On the 6th he went up Moore's [Deer] Creek 12.20 miles, being then "about five miles west of the high peaks of the Sierra Nevada." As there was good camping with cottonwoods, willows, some large oaks, and luxuriant grass, he arranged to leave his military escort there for the time being.

On the 7th he ascended the creek for about twenty miles, "a small rapid stream, about fifty feet wide and about two feet in depth. We discovered two small branches upon each of which we observed the remains of a large rancheria. The banks of the stream, as well as the hills surrounding, were heavily timbered with oaks, and three large species of pine."[10] This would, presumably, be in Bokninuwad territory, for on the 7th he went but eight to ten miles north from Deer Creek to Tule River, the southeast extremity of which empties into Tulare Lake. Koyeti occupied its banks at the edge of the foothills; within the foothills lived the Yaudanchi.

This stream has two branches, the upper portion of which are well timbered, but the banks are swampy near the lake, and for a long distance in the plain, the tulé running up to within five miles of the hills. All this time the stream was about one hundred yards wide, from twelve to twenty feet deep, and very rapid, which last is a general characteristic of all the streams to the east of the lake. Upon its upper banks and their vicinity in the hills, plenty of large pines are found; lower down it is well timbered with the different species of oak, sycamore, cottonwood and willow.[11]

On May 8, Derby changed his direction of investigation to the south-southwest. Having

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[9] Ibid., 252-253.

[10] Ibid., 253-254.

[11] Ibid., 254.

133 gone eight miles he crossed Gopher Creek, which probably dried during the summer, and after having gone a total of thirty-four miles he camped on Cottonwood Creek which he said was a constant stream. This took him through a no-man's-land unclaimed, so far as we know, by any Yokuts tribe.

[134] The soil was not only of the most wretched description, dry, powdery and decomposed, but was everywhere burrowed by gophers, and a small [136] animal resembling a common house rat... of a whitish grey color, short round body, and a very strong bony head. These animals are innumerable, though what they subsist upon I cannot conceive, for there is little or no vegetation. Their holes and burrows, into which a horse sinks to his knees at almost every step, render the travelling difficult and dangerous. The low hills south of Gopher Creek extend about eight miles into the plain, their summit being about on the same level as the plain between that stream and Moore's [Deer] Creek, and are singularly intersected by valleys running nearly south and north, which are crossed by other numerous small valleys running nearly east and west, thus dividing the whole of this portion of the valley into blocks of hills about a quarter of a mile square, and from one hundred to three hundred feet in height.[12]

Continuing southward on the 9th, Derby passed through country we believe belonged to the Tuhohi. He went thirteen miles along the north branch of the Kern River.

...a very broad deep stream with a current of six miles an hour, which, rising high up in the Sierra Nevada, discharges itself by two mouths into Buena Vista lake near its northern extremity. Three large sloughs also make out from the river near its mouth and from an extensive swamp in the plain upon the north bank of the lake. We found the river impassable with animals.

On the 10th, having got across Kern River, he reached Buena Vista Lake in Hometwali territory.

Buena Vista lake is a sheet of water about ten miles in length and from four to six miles in width; it lies about eight miles from the head of the valley formed by the junction of the ridges of the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada. Like other bodies of water in the valley it is nearly surrounded with tulé, and upon its north and east banks there is found a heavy growth of willows. A slough, some sixty miles in length, connects it with the swamp and bodies of standing water in the bed of Ton Taché, and through them with the great northern lake. The surrounding land is sterile and unproductive when not an absolute swamp, with the exception of

[12] Ibid., 255.

133 that portion lying immediately at the head of the valley, and among the ridges of the surrounding hills, where are some extremely fertile and well watered spots.[13]

When returning to his encampment on Moore's (Deer) Creek he followed a course fifteen miles west of his route down.

[137] We found it, however, of precisely the same character throughout -- barren, decomposed soil, and no trace of vegetation but a few straggling artemesias, except upon the margin of the creeks. Gopher creek we found entirely dry, at the point of crossing, its shallow stream sinking in the sandy soil some eight or ten miles above.

On May 13, Derby reached Tule River at a point which was 7.16 miles from Moore's (Deer) Creek -- probably close to the present site of Porterville. Here, Derby reported, the Tule River was 150 feet wide and he had to use wagon floats to get his party across. This was in Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory.

133 The country much improved in aspect from the time of leaving Moore's [Deer] creek, and
137 upon Tule river, and during our march upon the 14th, we passed over rich tracts of arable land, fertile with every description of grass, and covered in many places with a fine growth of heavy oak timber.[14]

133 Continuing north nineteen miles, Derby's party the next day reached the Kaweah River, at that time called the San Gabriel but renamed the Francis by Derby himself -- a name which did not persist. He was in country inhabited by the Choinuk, Wolasi, and Telamni, on the Kaweah River branches, and above them at the edge of the hills were the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchumni.

This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into Tache [Tulare] lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct branch from the Sierra, and joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake. The country, some eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful smooth level plain, covered with clover of different kinds and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oak of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 256.

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tule river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in gener[illegible] perfect contrast to the rich soil upon [illegible] Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 mi[illegible] the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherias of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

[15]Ibid., 257.
[16]Ibid., 258-260.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 5b]

133 vicinity, and numbering about ninety warriors, had been quite troublesome of late.[17]
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133 On the 19th, Derby went southwest 19.84 miles, probably through Wimilchi territory, and encamped on the edge of the swamp three miles above the mouth of Kings River opposite a Nutunutu village.

[501] I was anxious to cross the river and visit it, but was informed by the Indians a large body of whom swam across to our encampment, that all the country in the vicinity was overflown, and that it would be impossible to cross even if we were to construct "balsas" of tule owing to the rapidity of the current. It was evident enough that the country was overflown.[18]

The following days, 20th to 23rd, Derby's party spent struggling through mire and crossing eight sloughs to reach the Sanjon de San José, the waterway between Tulare Lake and the southern bend of the San Joaquin River. The Tachi lived to the west of it with a few on the east side near the Nutunutu; above them toward the San Joaquin were the Apiachi.

In all these sloughs a strong current was running southwest, or from the San Joaquin river to the lake. The country over which we passed between the sloughs was miserable in the extreme, and our animals suffered terribly for want of grass. There being no wood upon the plain, except an occasional willow on the largest slough, we could make no fires...

The "Sanjon de San José" is a large deep slough about forty miles in length, connecting the water of the Tache [Tulare] lake with the San Joaquin river, with which it unites at its great southern bend. At this time it was about two hundred and forty feet in width, with an extremely slow current setting toward the river.

The whole country for forty miles in extent in a southerly direction by ten in width, between the San Joaquin river and the Tache [Tulare] lake, is during the rainy season and succeeding months until the middle of July, a vast swamp everywhere intersected by sloughs, which are deep, miry and dangerous.[19]

After getting aid Derby's party reached the bend of the San Joaquin River, country attributed to the Pitkachi, on May 24.

At the time of our arrival its [the San Joaquin River] waters were at their highest

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[17]Ibid. Although the Choinimni cannot be held entirely blameless of treachery, it seems doubtful, in the light of the Mayfields' happy experience in the same years (1850-1852), that Garner's murder and other instances of "treachery" should be ascribed to them. The Monachi neighbors are suspect.

[18]Ibid., 259.

[19]Ibid., 260-261.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 6a]

133 stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed...that the whole country to the north was overflown...The point at which we encamped at the southern bend was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflown... At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet.[20]

On the 26th, Derby and party started southward on the west side of the San Joaquin River and Sanjon de San José, skirting the western edge of Tulare Lake, bringing them again into Tachi Indian country, for they were near to completing their circuit of the great valley floor.

At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the Coast Range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the Coast Range and the Taché [Tulare] lake, we found miserable, barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation save a few straggling artemesias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers.

We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th...We encamped upon the shores of the lake on the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the débouche of the Pass of San Miguel...passing en route the rancheria of the Tinta Taches, situated upon the northwest extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants...We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had passed in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident.[21]

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Such was the San Joaquin Valley before American agricultural projects diverted, distributed, or absorbed the waters which filled the central basin to form the lakes and sloughs

[20]Ibid., 261.
[21]Ibid., 262.

133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used [224 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the east was the fertile land watered by snows of 311] the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about 22 the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had a very different environment from those of the tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, 136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns [262] and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Yokohl Valley (Yokod-Wukshumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

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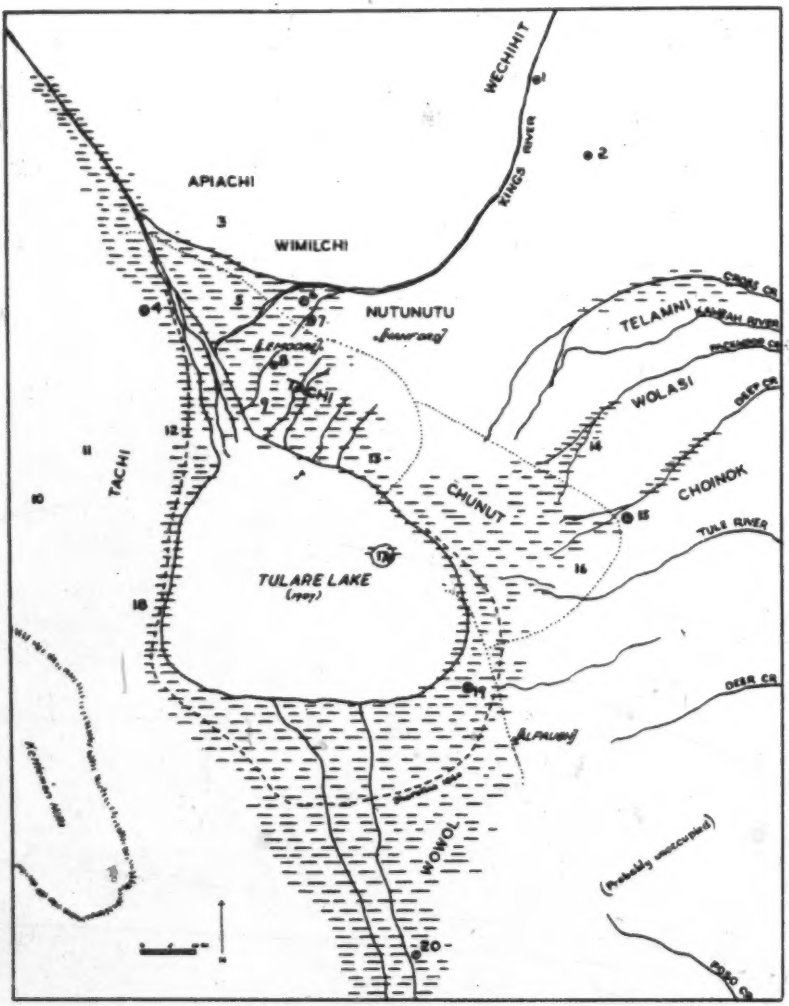

Map 2. Local Map A: Lake tribes

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 55b] Wukchumni

LOCALITY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

131 133 The territory in which the Wukchumni lived comprised beautiful, oak-studded, foothill country on both sides of the Kaweah River. Situated on the edge of the valley plain yet within the shelter of the hills, the benefits of both were theirs. No section of the valley was more lush than that watered by the Kaweah River and its fingerlike delta of creeks between the foothills and the lake. An almost ecstatic description has been left us by an early visitor, James H. Carson, who saw the country in 1852, two years after Lt. Derby's tour and the same year in which Jeff Mayfield arrived in the San Joaquin Valley.[137]

133 The Four Creeks are the next waters met with. These deep and rapid streams are formed by one river [the Kaweah River]. Lieut. G.H. Derby of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, who made the first surveys of this portion of California, in May, 1850, named this the Francis River. It is larger than the San Joaquin or any of its tributaries where it leaves the mountain.

This stream can be heard when you have gone a few miles in among the Buttes at its entrance on the plain, thundering from the rocky heights of the snowcapped Nevada. Its waters, as if tired of their task, seem to stop to rest in a beautiful small lake, formed amongst the conical hills.

These hills divide the waters of Francis [Kaweah] River at the foot of the Lake into the four streams known to the traveller on the plains as the Four Creeks. These creeks meander thro' heavily timbered and beautiful country, some twenty-five miles, where they empty their water into Tule [Tulare] Lake.

Allow me here to digress for a few moments from the tenor of these sketches, and you who admire the beauties of nature, untouched by the hands of man, accompany me to the top of the conical hill[138] that rises its head near the mountain -- far above the rest that surround it- and there view the fancy pencillings of the finger of the unseen Hand that formed from chaos this the most lovely spot in California.--- Now from its top we see around us a hundred conical hills rising from the plain, smooth and diagrammatically shaped, as if done by the chisel of the artist. Here, too, the Sierra Nevada rises abruptly from the plains -- its wall-like, rugged sides running almost perpen-

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[137] Carson, Life in California, 64-66.

[138] Probably the hill called dai'a'pmus (Local Map B, no. 32) by the Wukchumni and regarded by them as their "home spot" or traditional primordial locale. -- A.H.G.

133 dicularly up, until its spiral peaks are capped with the eternal snows that shine with dazzling brightness from the rays of the rising sun. Yonder, far in the plain, rise tall spiral cones of long, slim, rocks, whose bristling tops look like piles of spears stacked by giants of another age... Here on the green plain, from which the Buttes rise can be seen here and there the broad, low-spreading branches of the evergreen oaks. The stillness of nature around is broken only by the thunder of the waters of the Francis River as they come through the rocky gorges of the mountain passes: but, here at our feet, their white foam has died away, and in this crystal lake, where fish of a thousand species sport, they seem to stop and rest before they hurry on to their destination. Now let us turn and look westward. -- The oaks, in their majesty, thickly cover the plain for miles around, and stretch away to the shore of the Tulare Lake. Amongst them and through high green grass, meander the Four Creeks. To the right, at the distance of 25 miles, runs the belt of timber, marking the course of King's River to the lake. On the left is seen at the distance of twenty miles, the broad body of timber that marks the course of Tule river. The body of land, thus bounded, is the best in the valley -- well timbered and watered, and covered with the finest grass in California. Stretching beyond this to the west lie the placid blue waters of the Tulare lake, whose ripples wash the foot of the low hills of the Coast range -- the blue tops of which set a boundary to the scene.

Trade

101 131 The limits of Wukchumni land are indefinite, for all so-called boundaries were trespassed by hunting and seed-gathering groups on all sides, yet limits were recognized at certain points by common consent. On the north Wukchumni territory touched Waksachi in Antelope Valley, which was occupied by Wukchumni families. On the east, up the Kaweah River at the modern hamlet of Three Rivers, a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village marked the beginnings of Patwisha holdings. On the south the Wukchumni roamed as far as Yokol, the Yokod nuclear village (the present railway station of Yokohl), and on the west as far as Woodlake where Gawia land began. The small lake there was regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod for fishing, waterfowl-hunting, and shellfish-gathering. Telamni, Choinuk, and Wolasi sometimes came there too.

The Gawia, M.L. said, lived along the river west of the Wukchumni and had special campsites at springs near Haditao and Sokodao,

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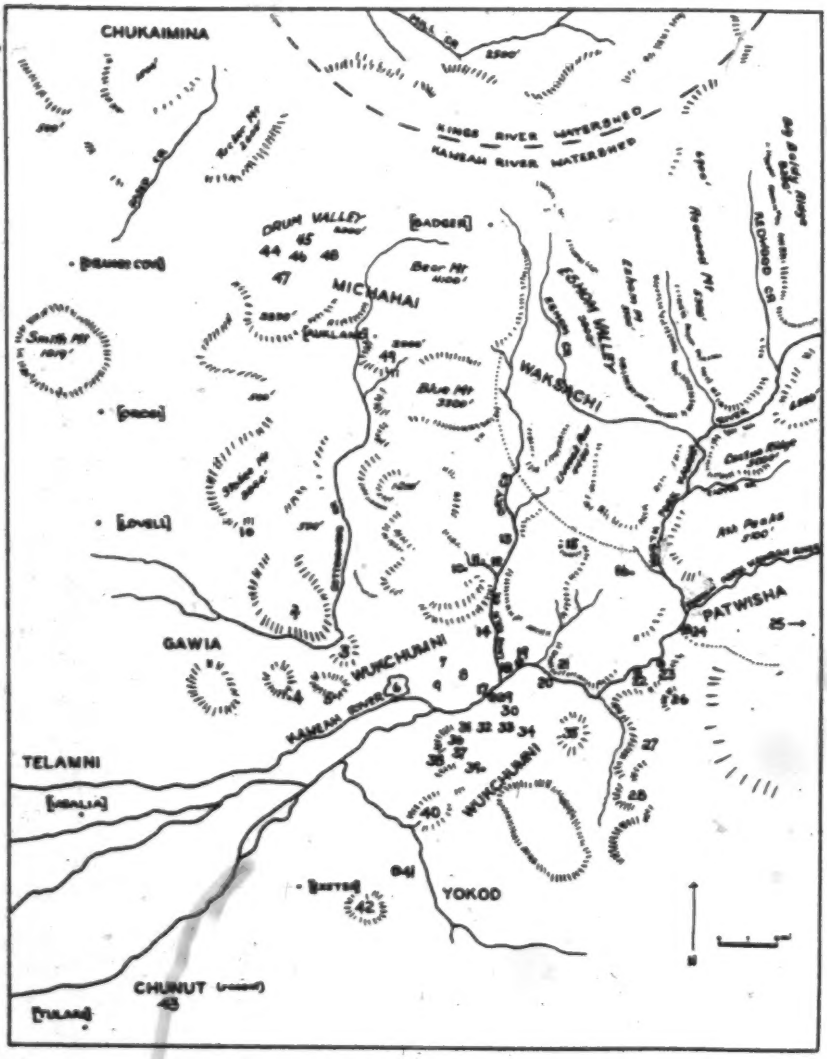

Map 3. Local Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

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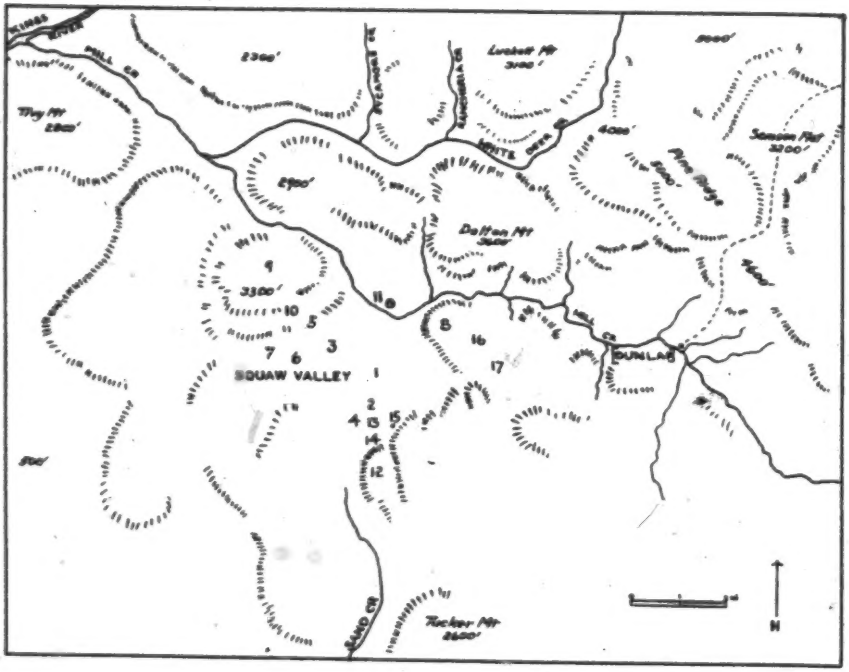

Map 4. Local Map C: Chukaimina and Michahai sites

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[P. 144] Western Mono NS25

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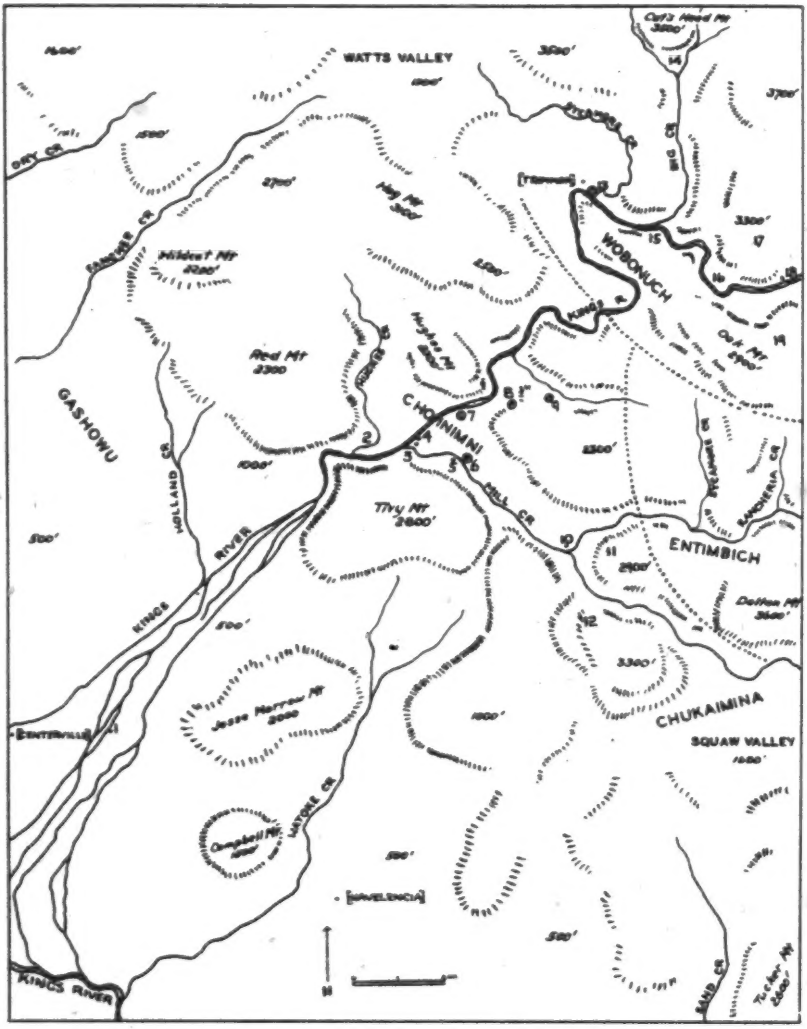

Map 2. Local Map D: Choinimni and Neighboring Territory

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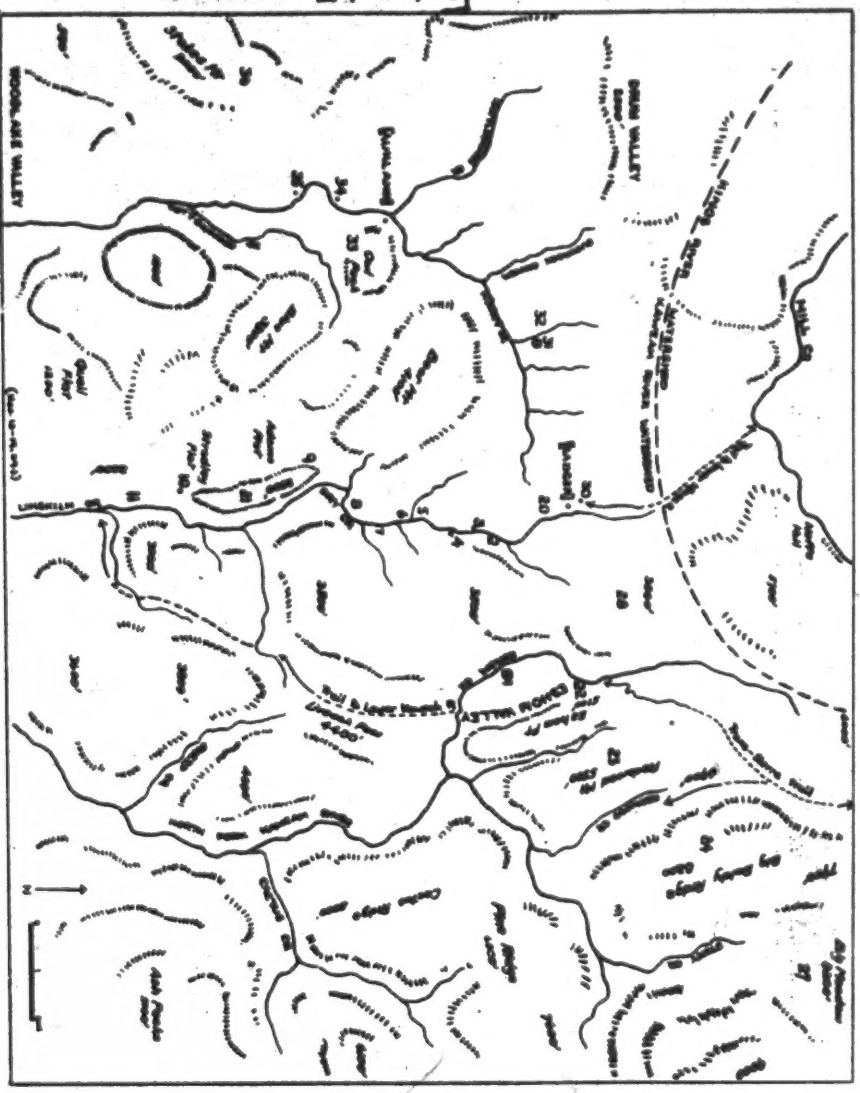

Map 3. Local Map E: Wakeechi Territory

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22. na''an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho'naga'tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa'čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain (Big Baldy Ridge)
25. penama'ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso''owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa'čiata'wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa'na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa'giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi''iu: Badger
31. kiču''u: Ash Springs
32. tuša'o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa'nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna'o: fish camp
35. o'polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati'': Stokes Mountain

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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa'wijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai'binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Pa'wijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

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439

Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo''owots), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Canon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [192]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable [132] 101 131 133

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

[101]

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and 22] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ½; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1½; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3½; Yuba, 3½; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations.

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters.

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring.

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

2:Kroeber
101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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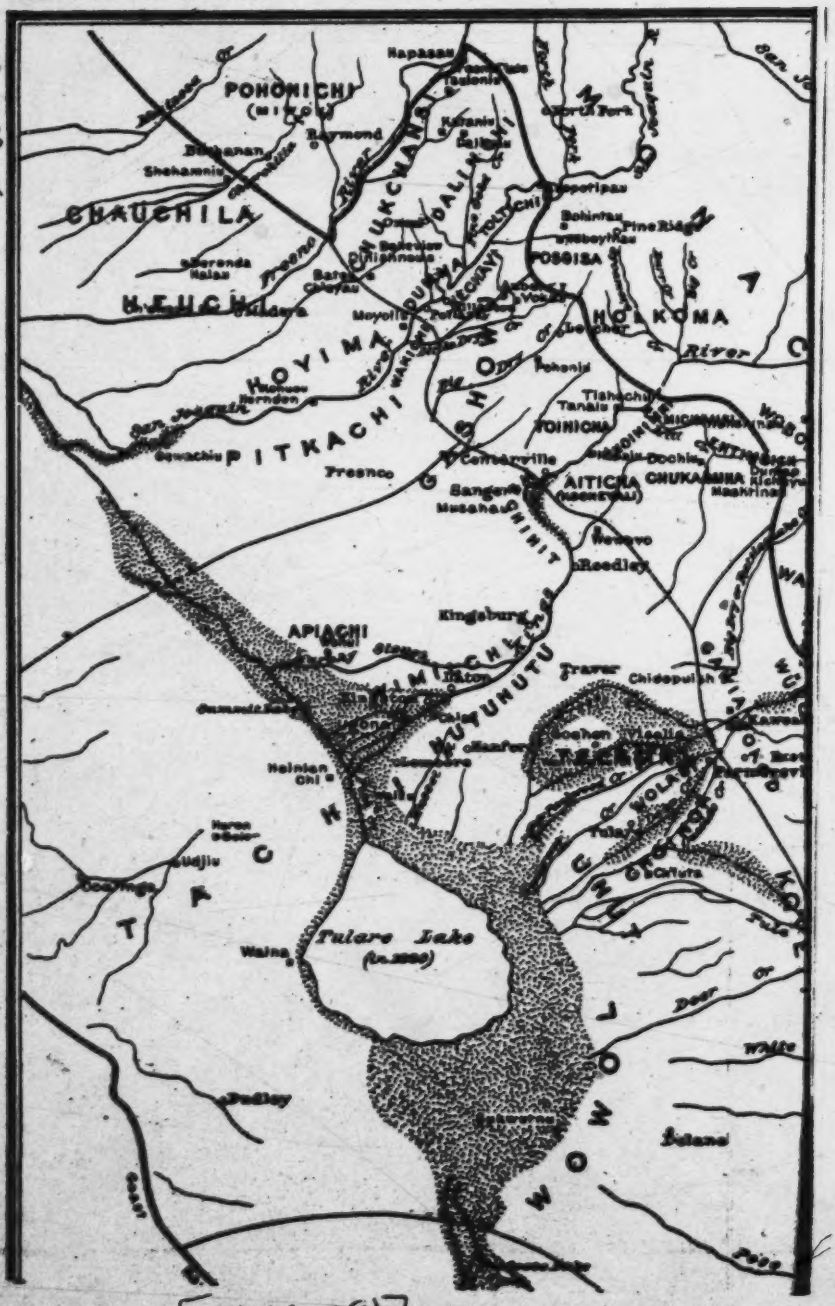

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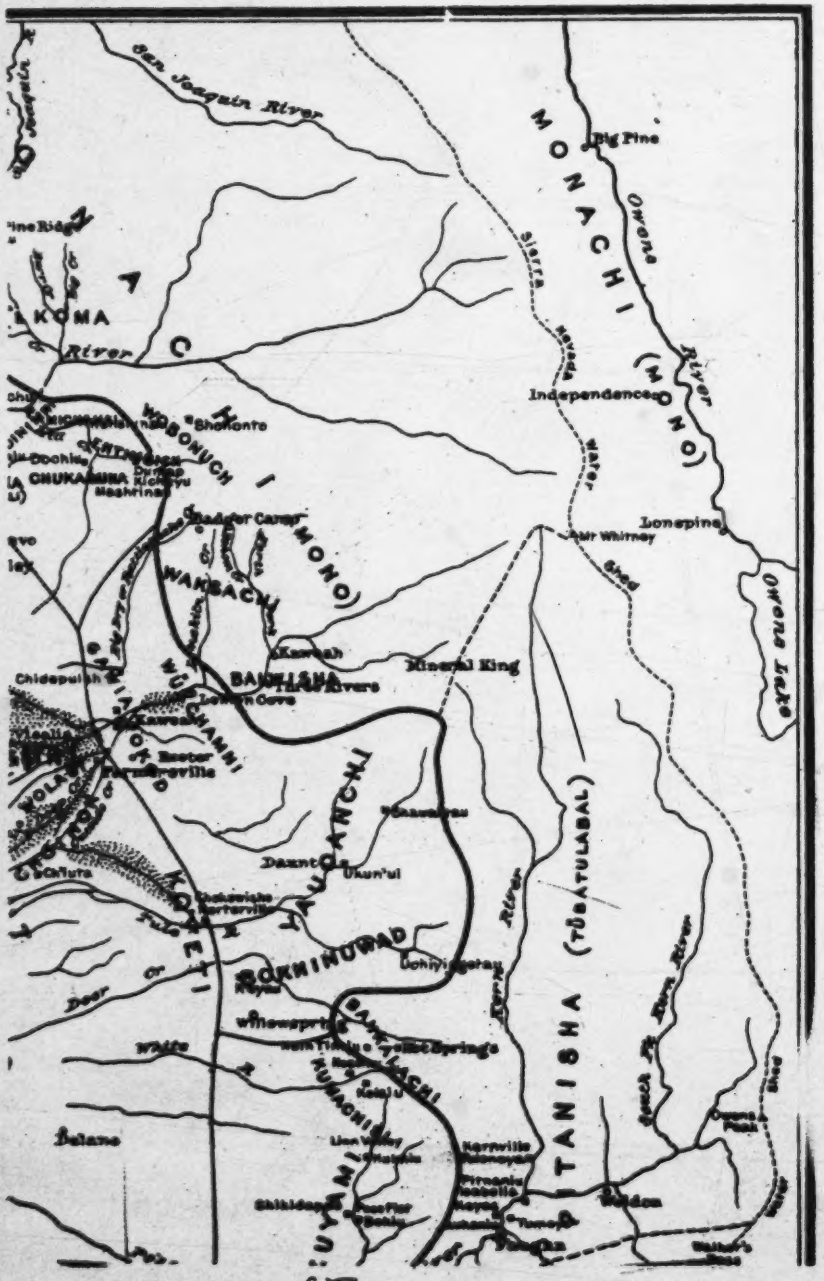

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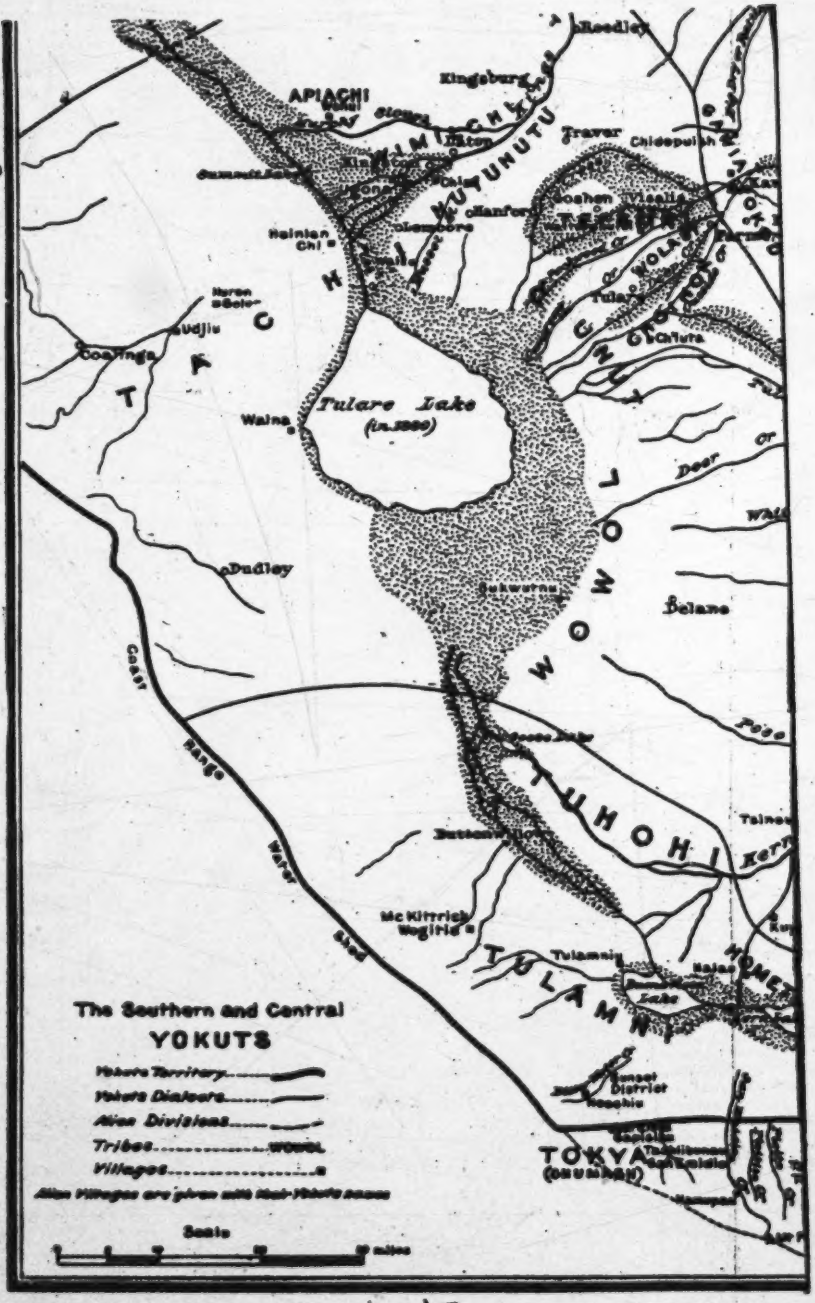

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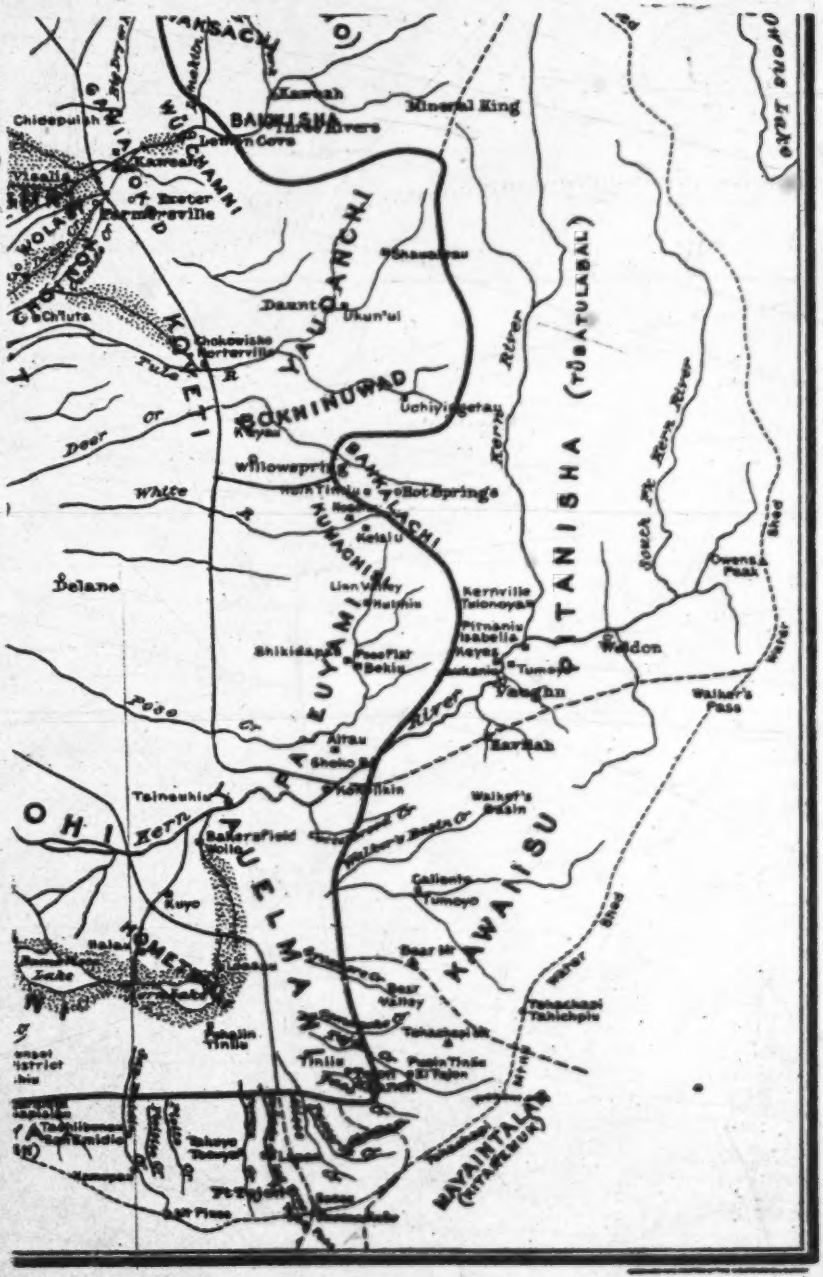

[p. 526-I(D)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are quite common throughout the entire west side area. These remains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the valley lakes. They were also used as a covering for the lake houses.

The lake houses are probably the most interesting part of the lake culture. They resembled greatly a long, wedge shaped tent. Poles having a crotch at the top were set in the ground in a more or less straight line at intervals of about eight or ten feet. In these crotches were laid other straight poles which formed a ridge against which other light poles were leaned. Against this supporting frame-work were laid the tule mats, the fiber of the tules standing upright.

We know from many accounts, some of them given by persons yet living, that these lake houses often reached a length of three or four hundred feet and housed a dozen or more families. The openings at the ends afforded entrance to the end apartments, the intermediate apartments having entrances at the side somewhat similar to the flap of a tent.

Transportation upon the water was by means of bundles of tules tied together in the form of rafts. From these, hunting and fishing took place. Upon a mud hearth in the forward end of these rafts, a fire was kindled and game was cooked. In this way, we are assured, parties of three or four Indians would be upon the lake for a week or ten days at a time.

To understand the reason for this difference between the method of living and the construction of houses of the lake tribes and the river tribes, we must consider for a moment the nature of the lakes upon which they lived. The land surrounding these lakes, particularly Tulare Lake, was almost level. The rise or fall of one foot in the level of the water in a lake would move the shore line forward or backward a distance often as great as four miles. When the shore line moved, the Indian village moved.

Other and more frequent disturbances were the violent winds which from time to time swept across the lakes. Three days of heavy northwest wind could drive the waters toward the south and move both shore lines south a distance of several miles. Those Indians living on the south shore of the lake would be awakened in the night by the wind or, if they were not alert, by the water, which would flood their encampment. All members of the tribe would rush about, bundling up the temporary houses and piling them upon tule rafts. Gathering up baskets of acorns and dried fish and all manner of camp equipment, they would float to higher ground. Within a few days

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, including baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

"Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beautiful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

[P. 44 not Processed]

CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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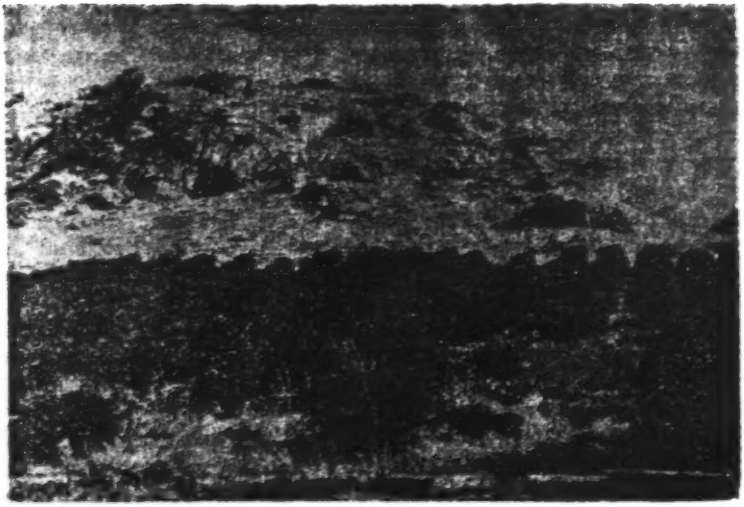

This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the **Wukchumne** called it **Ho-hu'-no.**

Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He al- [535] most seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs.

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

159 The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called
769 *Hes-wus* [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were
756 both *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Trip'-ne.* The *Ahntru* Doctors doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The people who wanted to trade carried their things in baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah
(sung five times)
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono.

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment.

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.)

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´´og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated: "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YO'-KUTS.

[101] In the language of this nation *yo'-kuts* denotes "Indian" or "Indians", and *no'-no*, "man". (It is a singular fact that nearly every language has different words for "man" and "Indian".) As often before, so here again it is necessary to adopt a word in common use as a basis of classification, since they have no national name.

[648] We have seen how the California Indians in the extreme northern part of their domain were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athabascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiuti of Nevada. All along the eastern side of the great interior basin the Sierra Nevada interposes an effectual barrier against the latter, protecting the Californians on that side; but the passes which occur at the northern and southern points of junction between the Sierra and the Coast Range allowed the Athabascan tribes and the Paiuti, respectively, to swarm in toward the rich and tempting plains of California, dispossessing the feebler peoples who were there before them.

[133]

Living as they do at the lower end of the great basin, the Yokuts received the brunt of the Paiuti attacks. So severe were the latter that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from the Fresno River to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's Passes, seized and occupied Kern River, White River, Posa Creek, and Kern Lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in

[131]

[pp. 1-368 not processed]

A nook of the mountains.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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the foot-hills as well as on the plains.[1] Second, at the extreme south of the Yokuts territory, two similar and much specialized Foot-hill dialects were spoken about Buena Vista and Kern lakes. While these lakes are in the great Tulare plain, and the tribes inhabiting their shores were separated from the other tribes of the Foot-hill division by the Valley tribes on Kern river and Tulare lake, yet the two lakes are comparatively close to the mountains that shut off the Tulare basin on the south; and, as these mountains, while forming part of the Coast Range, are also connected with the southern Sierra Nevada into one long continuous system swung about in a semi-circle, the habitat of this isolated lake group is not so diverse from that of the remainder of the Foot-hill division as at first appears.

In connection with the sharp differentiation of dialects spoken in the valley and in the foot-hills, it is to be observed that almost throughout the Yokuts territory, at least from the San Joaquin southward, the distinction is equally sharp topographically. The foot-hills end abruptly, in some cases quite boldly, at the edge of the plain, and a few yards, sometimes a single step, bring one clearly from one zone into the other. North of the San Joaquin river the physiography is usually quite different, as the foot-hills slope almost imperceptibly into the valley in a long peneplain. This is the character of the country among the northern Yokuts tribes that live in the foot-hills but speak Valley dialects. It is also the character of the country among the Miwok, the stock adjoining the Yokuts on the north, and it appears that in this family, although its range is much higher into the mountains than that of the Yokuts, there is no such marked division into Foot-hill and Valley dialects as exists in the latter.

VALLEY DIVISION.

The Valley division consists of two groups, a northern, and a principal one occupying most of the valley proper.

[1] The Northern group of dialects, while showing some unity and a number of stems peculiar to itself, appears to have consisted of two sub-groups, one comprising the tribes living in the plains, the other those in the hills. The dialects of the plains sub-group were the nearer to those of the southern Valley tribes. Thus even in this Northern group, which on the whole belongs distinctively to the Valley division, the distinction between Valley and Foot-hill dialects is to some degree maintained.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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132 climate (BSh), distributed mainly along the western margin and sporadically elsewhere.

134 Soils throughout most of this region are of alluvial valley or valley terrace type. Extensive areas of these are either poorly drained acid soils or are heavily saline, supporting little or no useful vegetation. [137] In the hills to the west and south, are some areas of neutral upland soils, normally favorable to the growth of hardwood trees, especially oaks. In this instance, however, these soils usually are barren because 137 of aridity. In the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts, there are only 96 square miles covered predominantly with hardwood trees, but this includes no oaks or other trees economically useful from the standpoint of Indian technology. In the coast ranges to the west of the southern valley Yokuts are 163 square miles occupied by woodland-grass associations (a park landscape of mixed grass and hardwoods) but the trees here are sparse with relatively few oaks. Although included in the area usually attributed to the southern valley Yokuts, there is no evidence that this upland region was exploited. Over most of the entire habitat attributed to the southern valley Yokuts a sparse desert type vegetation prevailed.[2]

● 133 The rather grim desert environment was mitigated by streams flowing from the mountains. Many of these, especially those draining from the high Sierra Nevada to the east were perennial. Virtually all the drainage went into three shallow basins of Tulare, Kern, and Buena Vista lakes. Only in years of unusually high precipitation in the mountains did overflow water from the lakes drain into the San Joaquin 137 River system and hence reach the ocean. Along streams and stagnant sloughs occurred some shrubs and trees and river bottoms might support lush grasses. The vegetation of primary economic importance was the tule which grew along streams and sloughs and especially in the extensive *tulares* around the marshy margins of the lakes. Tule, hispanicized from the Nahuatl *Tollin,* here is the bullrush, chiefly *Scirpus acutis.*

136 Fish, shellfish and waterfowl were the most abundant animal forms. Few deer existed in the area. The California deer is a browsing

[2] See Weislander and Jensen for vegetation data and Storie and Weir [127] for soils data. Other environmental data are summarized from compilations made by the project on a state-wide basis, utilizing a wide variety of government documents, geographical and ethnographic reports, too numerous to list in this short paper, supplemented by spot field observations.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Wednesday, 20.—Left the hole at daybreak and reached Mission San Miguel at 10 A.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from the poza 7 leagues]. At 1 P.M. Corporal Sebastian Rodriquez arrived, who brought from Mission San Antonio the 30 blankets, and 25 pairs of shoes which were divided among the sergeant, 3 corporals, and 26 soldiers who composed the troop.

Reviewed the soldiers at arms, the munitions, and mounts, and in the afternoon rationed biscuits, dried meat, and pinole for 30 days.

Thursday, 21.—After having celebrated mass for a "Godspeed," which we all heard [by] the R. P. Fr. Juan Martin, titular minister of the Mission San Miguel the Archangel, I left with the troop and 30 Indians from this mission, and 11 from San Antonio, as aids. I took the route to the east, and arrived to sleep at a place called Agua Dulce, at a distance of 7½ leagues to the east.

Friday, 22.—At 5:30 A.M. started toward the east; at 8 went due east, and at 4 P.M. reached the place called Los Alisos Ultimos [copy of Nov. 19: Los Ultimos Alamos], distant from Agua Dulce 15 leagues. The land is in hillocks, without pasture for the herd of horses, and the water a bit salty.

Saturday, 23.—The assisting Indians sent me notice that the two sloughs that there are before reaching the Rancheria of Bubal [Wowol] would be found full of water and very miry. Because of this I sent the sergeant with two soldiers and Indians on foot to investigate them, and to look for a ford, and [if] they found none to construct balsas without being noticed by the natives. I ordered one of them to return and give us information, in order for the troop to go on.

Reviewed arms and munitions, and finding the swords of the soldiers Juan Martines, Salvador Espinosa, and Santos Escamillo a bit hacked, and the reserve cartridges of Juan Amezquita in bad condition, I immediately admonished them to put them to good use, and to put them in condition.

At 4 P.M. I received information from the sergeant: that failing to find a crossing they were making balsas. After breaking camp and journeying 4 leagues to the east, I arrived at the summit of the last hill before entering the great plain of the tulares. The view from south to north is beautiful, for its end can not be seen, with its lakes, swamps, and groves of trees. And from east to west, I calculate its width, from this hill to the foot of the snowy range of mountains called Sierra Nevada, to be 28 to 30 leagues. We continued traveling eastward until 10 at night, when we reached the first slough.

This was crossed on balsas, the horses swimming, and with considerable trouble because of its stickiness and obstructions. Since it would be necessary to cross another like it in the vicinity of the Rancheria of Bubal, I dispatched four confidants ahead to sound out the situation, and to obtain some balsas which they told me the natives had. Continued traveling toward it. [Copy of Nov. 19: Followed it to the east and north until 1 A.M.]

Sunday, 24.—At 1 A.M. one of those spies I had sent to reconnoiter returned with the news that no balsas had been found, and that the natives had broken camp and withdrawn. I reached the slough at 3 A.M. to find it full as I had been told. Balsas were constructed and the troop passed. I noted the location

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choijnocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Josaps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Josaps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Josaps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoco to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Josaps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Josaps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated.

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied.

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutununtu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosta, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chisehas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure.

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer

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769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there [88] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of [36] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women [43] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

Saturday, 30.—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides
648 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
797 northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we
● [133] got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps. 648 797

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Ranchería of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp. [361] [133]

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ...ded [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Ranchería of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the ranchería they should censure them and make them do the same.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [?] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise[?], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

on horseback nor on foot, because of so much mud and tule. Because of this I sent the Indian, Antonio, with other armed Indians [copy of Nov. 19: with twenty Indians armed with arrows (*de jaras*)] who returned at 8 P.M. But without doubt the people had perceived us the day before, since the site was abandoned and they did not encounter any people.

Left San Pablo, going north to the San Joaquin River over muddy, salty and marshy ground. We crossed several deep cuts, reaching the river at 4 P.M., having gone but 10 leagues because of so many turns. This place is where Tape had his ranchería; there were indications that it had been moved elsewhere some fifteen days ago. In nearly all of today's journey there were encountered the scattered bones of horses already dead many days. Two pack horses belonging to Mission San Miguel have died, and three were left exhausted in the plain.

Saturday, 6.—Started at 5:30 A.M., following the banks of the river northward, full of meadows and swamps. At 3 P.M. I saw the fresh track of an Indian. I followed it into the middle of a bay of willows formed by the river. Settled on its banks I found five old women, an old man, a youth of about twenty, and a consumptive-looking young woman of about the same age, also a hermaphrodite whom they called Joya. All were natives belonging to the ranchería of Othos [copy of Nov. 19: who is already christianized at San Juan] and Yulavas, [under†] captain Chegice already christianized at San Juan with the name Bartolome, and Quetas [an] unconverted captain. They informed me that a very few days before Bartolome had come, sent by the priests of San Juan, and Queutas and all the people had gone to the mission with him, leaving the possessions I saw, and the old and infirm who remained there.

Several days ago they learned that the troops from San Francisco had passed lower down on the river and fought with the natives. Because of this they had scattered into the lakes and marshes. I made these old people understand that they did wrong in not going to live at the Mission San Juan, and that I could not consent to their remaining thus, as they served to shelter those already made Christians, when they came back, and that after I returned I would send from the mission to their captains for them and their possessions, and that they would be helped and cared for, and that they would be Christians if they liked.

I followed the old man as guide to another turn of the river twelve leagues distant from the point I left, having seen several bones of horses dead some time.

At 9 P.M. the sky was covered with clouds, with wind from the south. At 10 P.M. the herd stampeded but was easily caught.

Sunday, 7.—At 1 A.M. there fell a rainstorm which lasted three hours; it was not very hard, yet sufficient to wet us all thoroughly. Left at 5:30 A.M., going north by the shore of the river. At 10 o'clock found a village already abandoned some days. As it started to rain very hard I had to cross the river [copy of Nov. 19: in search of a shelter]. At 2 P.M. we halted in a bend of the

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Ecologically the great central valley of California forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

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The region designated embraces the territory of the Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the accompanying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

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The demography of the central valley is rendered still more complex by the fact that the contact with the white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

*161 It was overrun by clerical and military expeditions in 1804, 1812, 1814, 1815, and 1819, not to mention an indefinite number of private raiding parties which have left no trace in the documents. From 1820 to 1850 it was entered repeatedly by ranchers from the coast, American trappers of the Jedediah Smith variety from the southwest or north, and by New Mexican bandits. All these took a toll in the form of mission converts, battle casualties, burnt food stores, and disrupted village life. Finally, it should be remembered that the dry and arid plains of modern Kings, Tulare, and Kern counties bear no resemblance to the former region of rivers, sloughs, swamps, and lakes which once supported uncounted millions of game birds and animals, together with a luxurious vegetation capable of supporting a very dense human population.

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TULARE LAKE BASIN 6,500

THE KAWEAH RIVER

131 Together with the Tulare Lake Basin the lower
*161 Kaweah River and its delta from Lemon Cove to below the town of Tulare was probably one of the most densely populated spots in California, or possibly even north of the Valley of Mexico (see maps 1 and 3, area 3). The repeated comment of the missionaries with respect to the "infinidad de gentiles" to be found there creates a subjective impression which is borne out by the numerical data we possess.

There seem to have been two rather indistinctly separated divisions of the region. One, centering around Visalia and occupying the delta and sloughs, contained [101] three tribes, the Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok, of which the Telamni were the most important and numerous. The other, centering around Lemon Cove and probably extending some distance into the lower foothills, included the Wukchamni, Gawia, and Yokod, the largest group being the Wukchamni.

*161 Martin entered the delta in 1804 and called the people Telame. Moraga in 1806 explored it more thoroughly. According to the Muñoz diary (Oct. 19-20), the party noted Telame with 600 souls, together with a "big rancheria" one league east and the rancheria Cohochs two and one-half leagues east. In addition there were "otras varias rancherias" in the vicinity. The village list appended to the diary gives Telami I ("tendra segun corto computo 600 almas"), Telame II with 200 souls, Uholasi with 100, Eagues with 300, and Cohochs with 100. Uholasi is no doubt Wolasi, and Eagues and Cohochs are probably respectively Gawia and Yokod. If the last two are omitted, it is evident that Moraga saw or knew about four rancherias, Telame I and II, Uholasi, and the unnamed big rancheria. To these must be added the "otras varias rancherias," which may have amounted to another four, or eight in all. A population of 2,000 to 4,000 is certainly indicated.

Cabot in 1814 was the next visitor who left a record. He referred to the "Roblar de Telame Rio," which included Telame, the largest rancheria in the Tulares. Cabot's Telame may well have included both the villages to which this name was ascribed by Morgan. If so, on Moraga's figures it must have contained a minimum of 800 persons. A higher number is more probable, however, in view of the fact that it was the largest in the area.

In 1816 Father Luís Antonio Martinez passed through

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*161 with respect to the Hoyima, these villages should have contained 2,500 persons. This figure is quite reasonable if we grant that the horses were to be consumed by the entire group of villages, rather than only one or two of them, and may be provisionally accepted.

On the basis of the records presented, a probable population value for the valley floor between the Merced and the Kings rivers in the decade 1810-1820 was 5,100. But this may well be an underestimate and be representative of the aboriginal population. Evidence pointing in this direction is the almost complete obliteration of these tribes before 1850. That very serious attrition was going on among these exposed people is evident from the records of all the explorers. The massacre and kidnaping described by Pico is itself significant. In addition, we have the discussion by Estudillo in 1819, who found almost the entire surviving population of Tape sick and dying. He also points out that at the moment there were no less than four expeditions, including his own, ranging up and down the open valley, bent upon destruction. To explore the problem further indirect methods must be employed. We may therefore turn to estimates based upon stream distances.

If minor local variation is disregarded, the habitat provided by the Merced and the Kings rivers from the lower foothills out to the center of the valley is in no essential respect different from that characterizing the Mariposa, the Chowchilla, the Fresno, and the San Joaquin throughout its length below the foothills. The native villages were spaced more or less uniformly [361] along the larger rivers. Hence an approximate proportionality should have existed between riverbank distance and the number of inhabitants. No high degree of precision can be expected from calculations based upon these premises but the method yielded rational results for the period centering around 1850 and from it the correct order of magnitude should be obtainable.

Airline distances are used for the rivers. The general course of all the streams is substantially straight and the [133] numerous small meanders are uniform in size and occurrence throughout the area. Three river sectors are used as a basis: the lower Merced River, the middle Kings River from and including Mill Creek to Kingsburg plus the principal tributaries, and the lower Kings from Kingsburg to Lemoore. The data are compiled briefly as follows in tabular form.

River Sector	Miles in Length	Population	Persons per River Mile
Lower Merced...	32	1,750	55
Middle Kings....	75	5,000	67
Lower Kings	20	1,500	75

Despite the uneven nature of the basic information these figures show considerable internal consistency. The mileage of the San Joaquin, Fresno, Chowchilla, and Mariposa amounts collectively to approximately 190 miles (the four streams west of Kroeber's line of the valley Yokuts and down the San Joaquin as far as the mouth of Bear Creek). At 65 persons per mile (the approximate mean of the three values cited above) the population would be 12,350, or, let us say an even 12,000. This is more than double the number indicated directly by the Spanish accounts. It has been pointed out, however, that these accounts are incomplete with respect to the villages seen and recorded. Furthermore the records demonstrate a condition of severe disorganization on the part of the native society. Hence the indirectly

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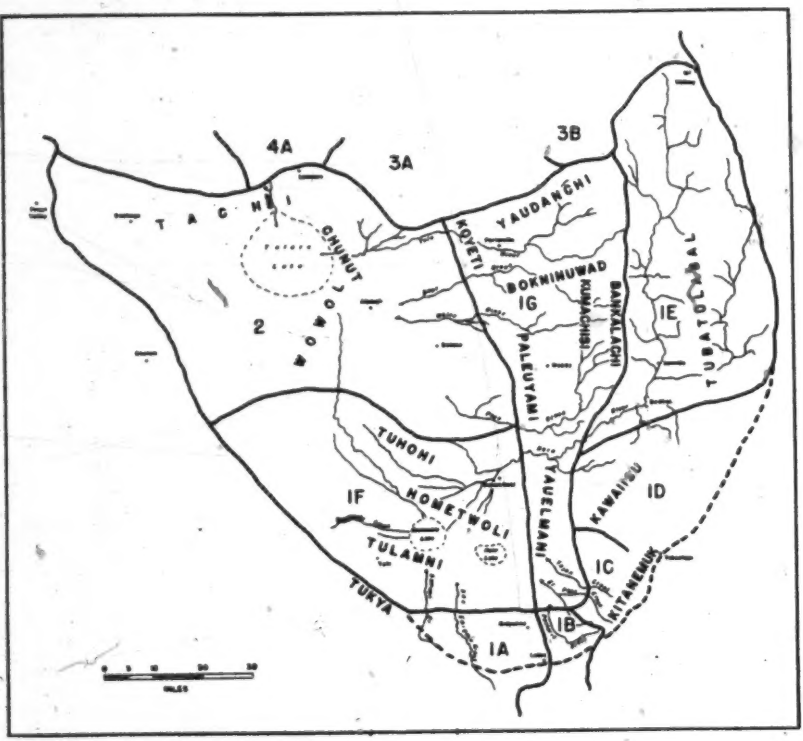

Map 2. Habitat areas 1A-2: the southern Yokuts and peripheral tribes.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16
Western Mono NS25
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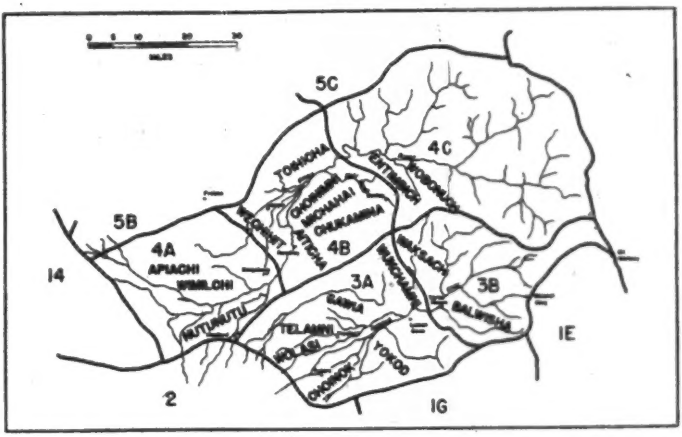
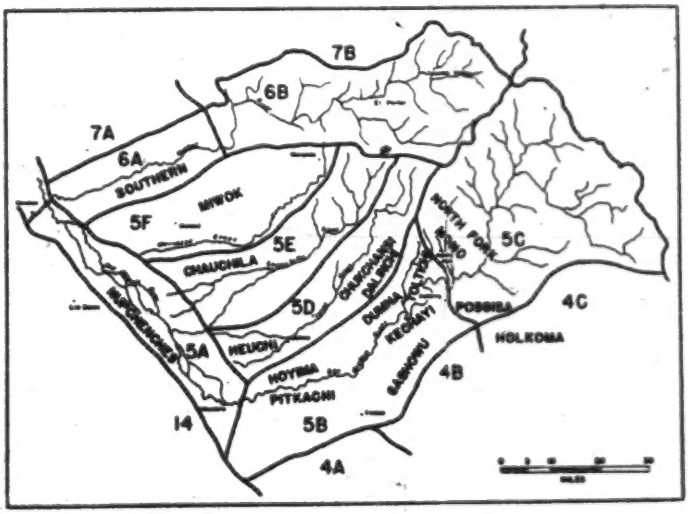


Map 3. Habitat areas 3A-4C: the basins of the Kaweah and Kings rivers, including the Yokuts and part of the Mono.



Map 4. Habitat areas 5A-6B: the Yokuts, part of the Mono, and the Southern Miwok.

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16
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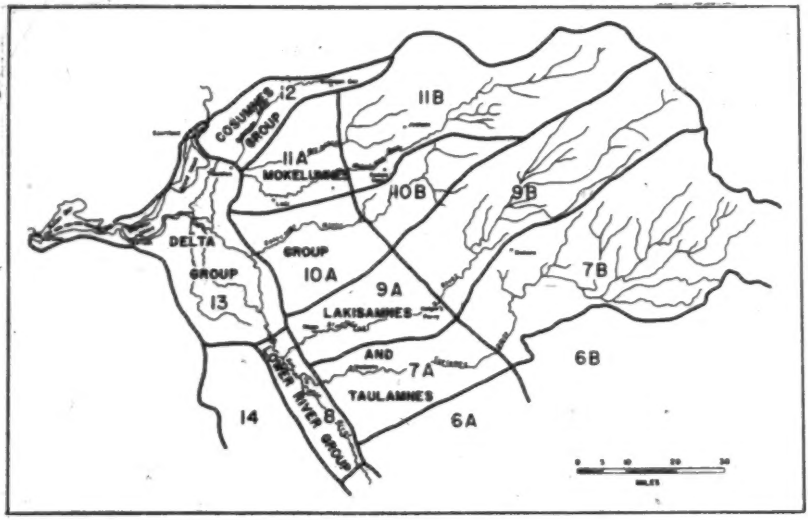

Map 5. Habitat areas 7A-14: the Northern Yokuts, Central and Northern Miwok.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16

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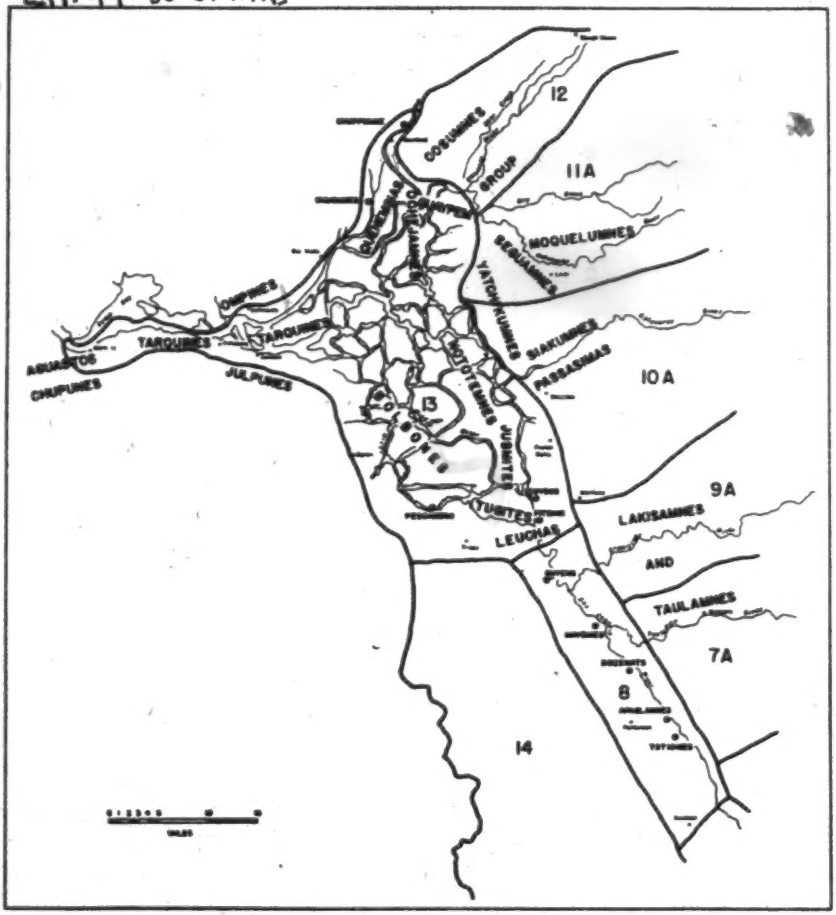

Map 6. The Lower San Joaquin River and Delta areas (particularly areas 8 and 13).

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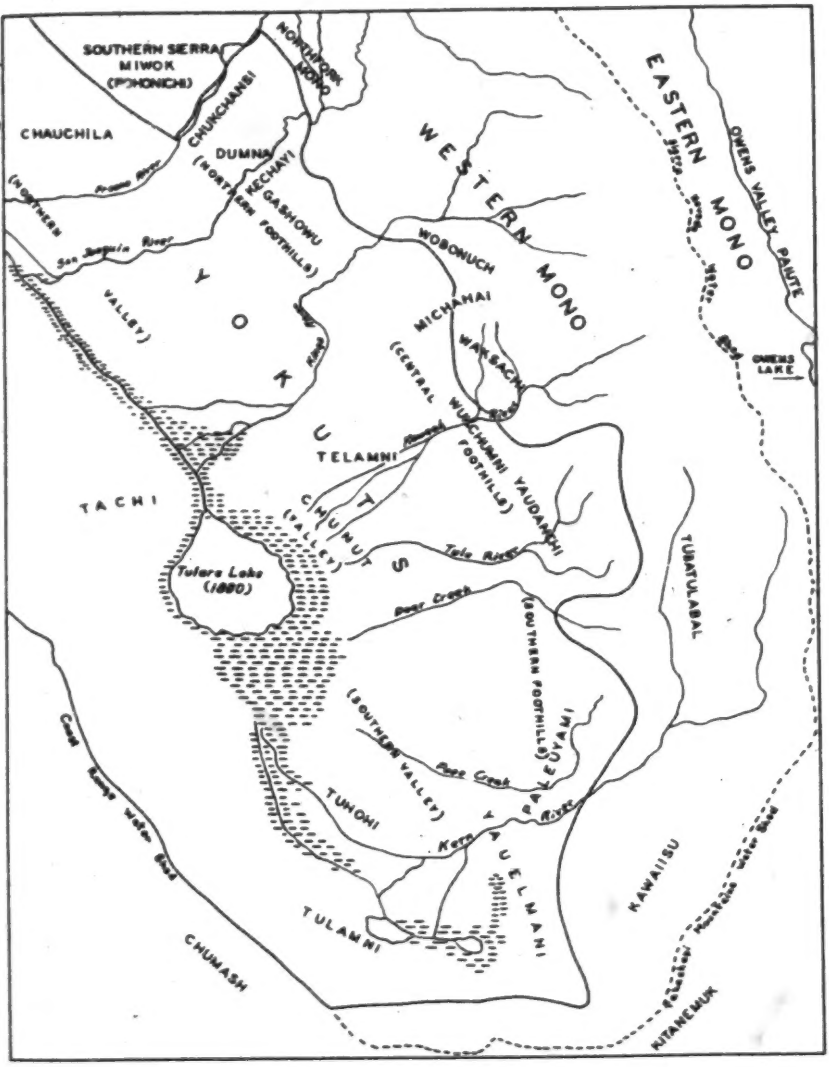

Map 2. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes.

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